

SCOTLAND'S STORY

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**Murder, intrigue,
passion and Mary,
Queen of Scots**

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legacy of the
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ATLANTIC
OCEAN

1542

Mary is born on December 8 at Linlithgow. Her father, James V, dies six days later and she is declared Queen of Scots.



Orkney

1558

She marries Francois, heir to the French throne. The pair grew up together after Mary was taken to France 10 years earlier.



1561

Mary arrives back in Scotland, following the death of Francois in December 1560. The country is in the grip of Reformation turmoil.



1566

David Riccio, Mary's confidante and alleged lover, is murdered at Holyrood. Darnley was one of the assassins.



1565

Marriage of Mary to her cousin, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley.



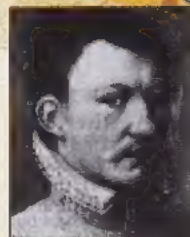
1568

Mary escapes from Lochleven castle, but her army is defeated at the Battle of Langside.



1567

Darnley is murdered at Kirk o' Field near Edinburgh. Mary marries Earl of Bothwell.



1573

Remnant of the queen's party in Scotland is defeated with the fall of Edinburgh Castle. Meanwhile, Mary is the focus of plots by English Roman Catholics to overthrow Elizabeth I.



1587

Mary, Queen of Scots is executed at Fotheringhay after being accused of 'treason'.



In Part 21:
James VI achieves his greatest ambition.

PART OF
IRELAND

North
Channel

PART OF
ENGLAND



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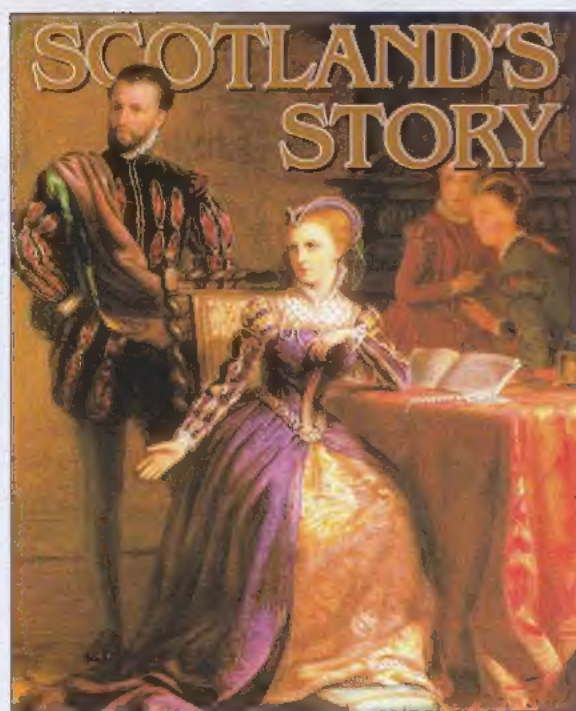
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COVER:
Mary, Queen of Scots was just 18 when she arrived from France to claim her throne. But she found a Scotland in the grip of the Reformation

How the legend of Mary lives on

Mary, Queen of Scots is, in every sense, a legend. Her personality is world famous, but much of what is 'known' about her is invented.

She lived during the first great age of printed and lettered society, and even during her reign her character was being invented in print by others – notably John Knox, who viciously demonised her womanhood for political purposes.

Since her death in 1587, romantic images of Mary have all but eclipsed the historical record of her life, but in some senses history itself is to blame for this.

Even the most sober historical analysis of Mary's career cannot hide its seductive spectacle of interlocking personal and international drama.

Generations of writers and dramatists have been tempted to try and uncover the heart and mind of this extraordinary woman by distorting the facts.

But although each imagined feeling and motive attributed to Mary takes us one step further away from historical veracity, it has long been accepted that dramatising characters and events from the past can often give them wider appeal,

by bringing them 'to life'. If Mary's legend encourages people to learn about the historical facts of her reign, it can't be a bad thing.

A map is not just pictorial representations of a territory, it embodies political and social power. Scotland's earliest maps are powerful documentary evidence of royal authority, but they can also show how the crown perceived – and was perceived by – various parts of the kingdom.

Some areas are described vaguely or with wild inaccuracy. Depicting Scotland's intricate coasts must have been challenging, but such cartographic flaws might also suggest where royal authority was generally at its weakest.

The eastward tilt given to the nation in these maps also reminds us how, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Scotland often looked to the Continent before looking south.

Who's like us! Scotland might be a small nation in terms of size and population, but when it comes to achievement we take some beating.

Just look at the list of people of Scots descent who have made a huge impact on history.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

ULTIMATE QUEEN



OF HIGH DRAMA



■ Mary's return to Edinburgh after her defeat – and Bothwell's flight – at Carberry Hill in 1567, was met by an angry populace bent on humiliating her.

From the moment she stepped on to Scottish soil, the career of Mary, Queen of Scots, was plagued by complex church, love and political wrangles. In the end, she lost not just the power game of intrigue and murder but also her head

Mary, Queen of Scots returned to Scotland on August 19, 1561. Brought up in France since the age of five, she was not quite 19 years old, and within two weeks of her return, she was caught up in a dramatic confrontation with John Knox and radical Protestantism. It was a classic demonstration of the conflict of faith, loyalty to the crown and personal interests which lasted for most of her personal reign.

Mary and the Protestant regime which had pushed through the Reformation in her absence, and without her permission, had already agreed a deal. She would be allowed the Catholic mass in her own private chapel, despite the fact that the Reformation parliament a year before had declared it illegal. But on the first Sunday after her return, Knox and a band of Protestant demonstrators tried to break into her chapel at Holyrood.

Their way was barred by Lord James, Mary's half-brother and leader of the Protestant revolt in 1559-60. For Knox, it was the ultimate betrayal. The next day, the privy council, acting in the Queen's name, imposed a religious standstill.

Undeterred, Knox preached an inflammatory sermon in St Giles the following Sunday, claiming that one mass was more dangerous than an invasion of 10,000 armed enemies.

In a sense, he was right. Mary's mass would spread, as she toured the country over the next few years. And in her absence, her Holyrood chapel would become a haven for Edinburgh's Catholics.

Just two days later, more surprises were in store for the young Queen when she made her formal entry into her capital. An entry was usually a ►



■ **Beauty queen:** Painted in France when she was not yet 18, Mary had looks and style that outshone all her contemporaries, notably Mary Tudor – and then Elizabeth.

► glittering occasion, signifying a kind of marriage between monarch and capital. When Mary was handed the keys of the burgh, she was also given a Protestant Bible and psalm book. To add insult to injury, they were English. But worse was to come.

One of the set-piece pageants depicted the fate of the three Israelites who had defied Moses – the earth opened up and they were consumed by fire as the price of their idolatry. This was the most pointed clash between a Catholic monarch and militant Protestants in the 16th century. It must have come as a shock to a princess brought up in the French court of a king as powerful as Henry II. Not only was her religion challenged but her authority was also called into question.

It is not surprising that, two days later, in the first of her notorious interviews with Knox, she demanded to know why he commanded her subjects to obey him rather than their queen.

But the first fortnight had also shown that most of Mary's nobles, Protestant as well as Catholic, were more inclined to support their monarch than Knox. In the General Assembly in 1564, Knox was sharply criticised for his unrelenting hostility to his queen. Knox, in turn, dismissed as 'courtiers' Mary's leading ministers – Lord James (now Earl of Moray) and Maitland of Lethington, who were both convinced Protestants.

What were Mary's motives? In November, 1562, she staged the downfall of the most powerful Catholic magnate in Scotland, the Earl of Huntly, when he threatened to break the 1561 agreement by an open invitation to her to attend the mass in his own castle at Strathbogie. This

LANGSIDE WAS A FAMILY AFFAIR

It would be hard for any Scot to remember the Battle of Langside with a sense of pride. For this skirmish was the culmination of Scotland's short civil war, fought between those who supported the deposed Mary, Queen of Scots, and those who backed her son, James VI, who was at that time in 1568 two years old.

Mary's army was led by incompetents, and the opposing forces were commanded by her bastard half-brother, the regent Earl of Moray, making this something of a family affair. The battle itself, which lasted for about 45 minutes, doesn't seem to have been distinguished by renowned acts of daring. In fact, it is to Moray's credit that he asked his soldiers to bring in prisoners rather than count corpses. So in one sense, things could have been worse.

It is over-simplifying to suggest that this was a west-of-Scotland battle between Mary's pro-Catholics and Moray's pro-Protestants. People of both faiths fought on each side. It seems that the loyalty of the common soldier was shaped as much by the old feudal ties as by religion, while many of their leaders simply

hoped to benefit by being on the winning side.

When Mary escaped from her island prison on Loch Leven in May, 1568, it took less than a fortnight for her supporters to raise a force that was 6,000 strong.

Many of these troops came from the Lothians, but the most notable support was from the west where the Duke of Hamilton and the Earls of Cassilis and Eglinton had their power bases. Fife, Stirlingshire and Clackmannan, whose overlords stood against Mary, provided scant numbers.

But backing Mary were nine earls, nine bishops, 14 commendators who had been appointed to profitable religious posts, and numerous lords and landowners.

Regent Moray was in Glasgow when he heard that Mary's force was heading his way towards the fortress of Dumbarton, one of the only remaining strongholds where she would find support and refuge. He quickly raised a force of 4,000, which included artillery sent from Stirling, riflemen (or hagbutters) from Edinburgh, the royal archers and around 600 infantrymen from Glasgow. His supporters also

included members of the Scottish aristocracy such as the earls of Mar, Morton, Glencairn and Menteith. Moray's forces first took up position north of the river Clyde and waited for the enemy's advance. But when the Mary's host was seen to be marching south of the river, Moray was able to move his soldiers into their path by a bridge in the area now known as the Gorbals.

Although Moray's army was inferior in numbers, Mary's seems to have been badly led by her main allies and blood relations, the Hamiltons. One of her leaders, the 5th Earl of Argyll (who had been married to her half-sister, another blood-tie) was reported to have 'fallen into a swoon' as the battle was about to begin, although this has also been interpreted as an act of treachery.

Mary had hoped for reinforcements from the Catholic north, but was forced to watch as her supporters were readily overcome. It has been suggested that the battle ended with her decision to flee south and seek the protection of yet another relation, Queen Elizabeth of England.

This, of course, was her final bad decision.



■ Unhappy marriage: Her swaggering and embarrassing cousin, Darnley.



■ Third and last husband: James Hepburn, the fourth Earl of Bothwell.

raises the question of how genuine Mary's own Catholic convictions were.

She has been accused of being a Catholic monarch who fell down on the job, obsessed by the prospect of succeeding Elizabeth on the throne of England. There can be little doubt that she had a simple but fairly strong faith. Her family, on her mother's side, were resolute Catholics. Her grandmother had ended her days in a convent and her mother never wavered.

But when Mary returned to Scotland in 1561 it was difficult to know how a Catholic monarch should rule. The Catholic Council of Trent did not decide on its hard-line Counter-Reformation stance until 1563. In France, her Guise uncles were in 1561 still trying to reach agreement with the moderate Lutherans and shut out the extremist Calvinists. Mary was probably, on instructions, trying to do the same in Scotland.

Shortly after this, there were rumours that she was about to convert to Anglicanism, as the price of convincing Elizabeth she was not going to play the Catholic card in English politics. But this was not Mary's doing. The rumour was started by one of her Guise uncles, the Cardinal of Lorraine – a Catholic churchman with dynastic ambitions for his family.

But by 1565, when she married her cousin Darnley, the shutters were beginning to come down over Europe. France had been enmeshed in a bitter religious civil war. Protestants feared an international Catholic crusade against them. Mary's mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici, advised her to assassinate Protestant leaders – advice that Mary ignored.

Elizabeth I's advisers thought in terms of a

There was more than one way for a monarch to be rid of an awkward spouse

beleaguered Protestant isle. Caught between an aggressive Catholic international and a Protestant militant, Mary tried to follow a middle course.

In 1565, she shrugged off a revolt led by her half-brother, Lord James. The issue was not so much religion as the influence over her of Darnley and his family, the Lennox Stewarts. But there was no dash by Mary for a pro-Catholic policy and no purge of Protestants from her government. Against a background of increasing fears of the General Assembly about the spread of the 'pollution of the mass', she held to the compromise deal of 1561.

The dramatic murder of Mary's Italian servant, David Riccio, in her own privy chamber at Holyrood in March, 1566, was a Protestant demonstration against what the conspirators saw as a drift towards Catholicism at court. It may also have been an attempt on her life, because she was six months pregnant at the time.

The plot posed two problems for Mary. One,

which she solved, was how to isolate the extremists. The next nine months, climaxing in the elaborate baptism staged for her son at Stirling Castle in December, 1566, were devoted to an orchestrated political recovery. Spin doctors proclaimed the combination of her and her son as the only guarantee of 'peace in our time', keeping Scotland out of a war of religion.

The other problem was more difficult. Darnley had been part of the murder gang. This impetuous adolescent, still only 19, was a ticking time-bomb.

Too young to be given the crown matrimonial – meaning he would not succeed Mary if she died without an heir – his new wife showered him with gifts. He came from a mixed family, with a devout Catholic for a mother and a convinced Protestant father. Just five weeks before he helped murder Riccio, Darnley and his drunken cronies had swaggered up Edinburgh's High Street boasting he would return Scotland to the Mass.

He was also probably bisexual. There were rumours early in 1566 that he had made one of Mary's ladies-in-waiting pregnant and by the end of the year he had contracted syphilis.

Was there a plot to rid Mary of this embarrassing adolescent thug? It is often said that her closest advisers met at Craigmillar Castle in December, 1566, to plan his demise. But they would have been more occupied with arrangements for the baptism and how to stop him meeting any of the foreign ambassadors present. There was more than one way for a monarch to be rid of an awkward spouse.

Yet the assassination of Darnley, who was shut away in the Kirk o' Field just outside the walls of Edinburgh (where Old College now stands), ►



Her marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, whom many suspected of Darnley's, death, dented her charisma

► caused an explosion which rocked Mary's government to its foundations. In life, Darnley had swung both ways in religion. In death, his publicity-conscious family made him a Protestant martyr.

Mary had survived one Catholic rising, two failed Protestant coups and a mysterious illness which struck her down at Jedburgh in October, 1566. On what seemed to be her death bed, she had appealed to her nobles to avoid religious conflicts, as she had tried to do. She recovered and there is every reason to think that, at the end of 1566, she and her dynasty were secure. She was still only 23 and had a son and heir. Compromise and conciliation had worked, even if it had been messy at times. It even seemed that Knox had been seen off. He took a six-month leave of absence in England, supposedly to arrange his sons' education.

It took a family dispute to undermine her. This was not the first time the chief threat to a Stewart monarch had come from the ranks of the Stewarts themselves. But Darnley dead proved even more

awkward than Darnley alive. Her marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, whom many suspected of the murder, was a serious miscalculation. Should a Stewart have married a mere noble? Bothwell also had many enemies. The fact that the ceremony was by Protestant rites alienated Mary's Catholic supporters. The fact that he was married, and a Catholic annulment was quickly arranged, added the whiff of scandal.

There is a real comparison to be made with the scandal which enveloped Elizabeth's court in 1560, when Amy Robsart, wife of her 'favourite', Robert Dudley, conveniently fell down a flight of stairs and died. The court was filled with gossip about the Queen and her master of horse. Nothing threatened queens more than the loss of their reputation. The charisma of Mary, Queen of Scots, surrounded by a glittering Renaissance court, was suddenly dented. Rumours of a rape, a pregnancy and even the still birth of twins swirled about the courts of Europe. Even the Pope condemned her.

In June, 1567, a coalition of Catholic and Protestant nobles confronted Mary and Bothwell at

■ Sir William Allan's 1833 painting, *Murder of David Riccio* shows Darnley holding back the Queen while his uncle Douglas closes in on the victim.



■ The castle at Loch Leven: Mary escaped from here in May 1568, only to meet disaster at Langside.

Carberry, near Musselburgh. It was hardly a battle, for not a shot was fired. But Mary, badly outnumbered, was captured and Bothwell fled into exile. Even so, the die was not cast, for most nobles wanted only to be rid of Bothwell. It took a coup-within-a-coup to hand power to the radicals. Mary was imprisoned on Loch Leven, and forced to sign a deed of deposition in favour of her infant son.

Yet when she escaped from her island prison in May, 1568, she was able to raise an army of more than 6,000 men within 11 days. But her future lay in the hands of the incompetent Hamiltons who lost the battle of Langside to an inferior force led by her half-brother, Moray.

She fled to England, to seek the help of her cousin Elizabeth. This was not yet the last act of the tragedy. The English regime, still insecure, was in a real dilemma. Mary in exile gave them an opportunity to ensure a pro-English regime in Scotland.

But Mary in England was a likely focal point for a Catholic rising or plots against Elizabeth. And so it proved. In 1568, most would have

wagered that Mary would have been allowed to return to Scotland. A civil war between queen's men and king's men dragged on.

There was talk of a joint kingdom, shared by Mary and her son, but with Moray pulling the strings. It was Mary's apparent involvement in the Catholic rising of the English northern earls in 1569 and a plot by the Duke of Norfolk which changed English minds.

A second conspiracy, the Ridolfi Plot, had the House of Commons baying for her blood. By 1571, the end-game was already being played. The obituary notices for a Catholic martyr were already being written, by both sides. They were brought out within days of her execution in February, 1587. The pretext was an abortive plot led by a young Catholic, Anthony Babington. So incompetent was the plot that Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary, had to set up a postal service to help – and monitor – it.

From politique queen to papist conspirator and Catholic martyr. It was a shabby end to an extraordinary career. ●

TIMELINE

1561

August 19: Mary arrives at Leith. August 24: she attends mass at Holyrood, as Knox and others try to break in. August 27: privy council proclaims a religious standstill. August 31: Knox preaches inflammatory sermon at St Giles. September 2: Mary makes formal entry into capital.

1565

Marriage of Mary and Darnley in July by Catholic rites.

1566

March: Protestant conspirators, including Darnley, kill Riccio. July: birth of Mary's heir. December: his Catholic baptism.

1567

February: murder of Darnley. May: Mary weds Bothwell. June: defeat at Carberry by Confederate Lords. July: Mary imprisoned on Loch Leven, deposed, and son proclaimed as James VI.

1568

Mary escapes but loses Battle of Langside and flees to England seeking protection of Queen Elizabeth – who imprisons her.



1587

Mary, aged 45, is executed for 'treason' after discovery of Babington Plot. Above: her death mask.



The Queen is dead, long live the Queen

The romantic, dramatic and tragic life of Mary, Queen of Scots has inspired story-tellers over the centuries.

Although Mary, Queen of Scots lost her head over 400 years ago, few historical figures have lived longer in the collective imagination. Today, countless tourists trace her steps through Edinburgh's Holyrood House. Some even cross Loch Leven to the island castle where she was once imprisoned by her own rebellious subjects.

A house devoted to her thrives in the Border town of Jedburgh, and thousands file past her ornate tomb in Westminster Abbey. Such supplicants to Mary's memory bring up the rear of a long obsession with a tragic queen, confirming that the story of her disastrous life has become a modern myth.

And yet a myth of what? Since the half-French, devoutly Catholic Mary knelt at the scaffold in

1587, generations of artists, poets, dramatists and novelists have conspired to keep her image alive. However ardent, their efforts have also been ironic, yielding almost as many Queens of Scots as there have been imaginations to dwell on her.

Even to her contemporaries, Mary was sometimes a Catholic martyr and sometimes her own husband's adulterous murderer, sometimes a persecuted beauty and sometimes the ruthless aspirant to her cousin Elizabeth Tudor's English throne.

To English royalists of the 17th century, she was the first figurehead of the Stewart cause, but in the 18th-century culture of sensibility she became a sentimental heroine of the first magnitude. Romantic artists saw Mary as the incarnation of sexual passion and indomitable will, while to their

Mary being summoned to her execution. 'You will do me great good in withdrawing me from this world,' she is reputed to have said. This scene was painted by Philippe Jacques van Bree in 1819.



Victorian children she stood by turns for dangerously seductive female artistry, and for desecrated feminine purity. In the 20th century, post-modern feminists have seized upon the riddling incoherence of Mary's myth and attributed her sufferings to her sex in a world that often loathed women and feared their power.

The myth of Mary, Queen of Scots has taken so many different shapes in part because her personal history was so contradictory and ambiguous. Even at its most schematic, her life falls into three very different phases, each generating its own contested legend. At first, Mary's girlhood in her mother's native France – where she married the French dauphin Francois II and briefly ruled with him identified her with all things French. To the sceptical English, Mary's Frenchness always

whispered of seductive charm, excessive sophistication, and Roman Catholic decadence.

The French more readily and faithfully embraced her. The queen – who always signed her name Marie and preferred to speak their language – was an exemplary flower of gallic culture. Madame de Lafayette's 1678 novel *La Princesse de Cleves* makes 'la reine dauphine' the spirited centre of the Valois court, the hub of its wheel of intrigue. In Mary's own day she was the subject of numerous devoted sonnets and lyrics by the quintet of court poets who called themselves the Pleiade.

After Francois's death in 1560 Mary returned to rule her native Scotland. Her reign was short and disastrous, ending when her ambitious and often misogynist Protestant subalterns forced her to abdicate her throne in favour of her infant son, James VI. As we might expect, Mary's political struggles bred an image of the Queen of Scots that could not have been more different from the one that had formed around her in France.

Scots from John Knox to Mary's powerful bastard half-brother James Moray spread propaganda portraying the Queen as corrupt, sensual, arbitrary, despotic and determined to impose her Roman Catholic faith on her reformed subjects.

When Mary's stormy marriage to Henry, Lord Darnley, ended with his mysterious murder and the Queen imprudently eloped with his supposed assailant, the Earl of Bothwell, her image as a lawless and lustful female tyrant was sealed.

Her enemy George Buchanan's 'Detection of the Doings of Marie' was to become the foundation of future representations of Mary as deceptive, lascivious and power-crazed – rotten with "unnaturalness, hatred, barbarous fierceness (and) outrageous cruelty". In England, Protestants fearful of Mary's claim to the English throne through her grandmother, Margaret Tudor, seized upon precisely this version of the Queen of Scots.

The Clytemnestra who dominated John Pickering's 1567 'Horestes' was a Mary Stewart an "adulterous dame" who "on whoredome murder vile/Hath heaped up, not content her spousal bed to fil."

After Mary's death and her son's accession to the English throne, her reputation as a Scottish Jezebel lay dormant, to be fully revived only by the romantic passions of the early 19th century. William Ireland's 'Effusions of Love from Chateaur to Mary, Queen of Scotland' (1805), for example, pretended to expose Mary's torrid attachment to a lovesick young admirer. Images of her amorous intrigues found their way into popular art while several Gothic stage tragedies re-created the more sensational aspects of Mary's personal life.

Walter Scott's historical novel *The Abbot* (1825) used the last days of Mary's reign to explore the seductions of Scotland's Catholic past and embodied those in a willful queen who erotically mesmerises his young hero. Scott's play was adapted to the stage 160 times in the course of the 19th century. With each production, Mary came to the stage as the embodiment of dangerous and barely-thwarted female authority. The Victorian historian J A Froude tried to limit Mary's power by dismissing her as a whorish actress. But in his late 19th-century trilogy of plays about Mary – 'Chastelard', 'Bothwell' and 'Mary

Stuart' – Algernon Swinburne revelled in an uninhibited and narcissistic "queen – snake – and Scots", one whose erotic transgressions vindictiveness and will to power only provoked passionate admiration.

Although Mary's blood was as English as it was Scottish – and more French than either – Swinburne saw his transgressive and sexually powerful Mary in the context of Scottish history. So had Scott, whose depiction of her abdication used that moment to talk about his own country's transition from Catholic, mystical and female rule to male, Protestant and English domination.

To the present day, Mary's story has continued in many ways to double as a crucial episode in Scotland's story. When efforts were made to convert her birthplace, Linlithgow Palace, into a monument to European culture, a wave of protest insisted that the building remained identified with the Queen of Scots. At the same time, the memory of Mary's personal rule evokes a very particular version of Scotland, one imaginatively potent but also doomed, effaced, and more closely tied to the European continent than to England.

Mary, of course, only spent her middle years in Scotland. The 19 years of English captivity that followed bred two new and very different myths of Mary, Queen of Scots. In one, she is of a long suffering, pious and finally tragic Catholic martyr; in the other, she is tragically entwined with Elizabeth Tudor. When Mary finally went to the scaffold in February, 1587, she deliberately presented herself a martyr to the Catholic faith.

Antoine de Montchrestien's 1601 tragedy 'L'Escossaise ou la Desastre' makes her suffering as lurid as possible in order to marshal sympathy for her in a context of French and Catholic antipathy to the barbarous English. In Richard Verstegan's Catholic martyrology 'Theatrum Crudelitatum' Mary is shown kneeling at the block, her neck already gashed and the axe raised to deliver the second blow that hints broadly at Protestant barbarity.

Throughout the 16th century Mary's sufferings were remembered with religious feeling. In the 17th century they were put into the service of political rhetoric that rendered Mary the tragic representative of the embattled Stewart cause. In the 18th century, however, the culture of sensibility exalted the long suffering Queen of Scots for her piety alone, detaching it from political and religious agendas.

In the 18th century, Britons built waxwork replicas of the scene of Mary's execution and composed music to accompany paintings of the same event. Samuel Johnson shed many a tear over Mary's fate during his famous tour of Scotland, and a number of historians set about defending her reputation as that of a pious and long suffering heroine of sensibility, often compared to Richardson's tragic *Clarissa Harlowe*. The 19th-century vogue of sentimental, nuanced, narrative histories made Mary the favourite subject of history painters. Of more than 50 canvases that featured her in the course of Victoria's reign, most were pathetic scenes from her captivity and execution by eminent artists from Ford Madox Ford to John Callcott Horsley.

Of at least equal interest, however, was Mary's relationship to Elizabeth Tudor. Even in her own ▶

THE LEGEND OF MARY



■ Mary's execution at Fotheringhay on February 8, 1587. On the scaffold she removed her black mourning dress to reveal a bodice and petticoat of red – the colour of Catholic martyrdom. Her last words, repeated several times, were: "Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my soul." It took two strokes of the executioner's blade to sever Mary's head from her body.

► day, Mary stood as the sexualized alternative to Elizabeth's virgin queen – an alternative that eventually had to be sacrificed to preserve not only a Protestant succession but also Elizabeth's own image as an acceptably exceptional woman in an era which regarded female rule with fear and contempt.

Elizabeth appears to have been fascinated by Mary, yet also so fearful of her emotional power that she avoided any meeting with her. The two exchanged letters throughout Mary's captivity, and Elizabeth seems to have felt a deep kinship with her.

Both were, after all, queens in a world at best anxious about female rule; they were cousins; Mary's plight was indeed pitiable, and her son James was in line to become Elizabeth's heir, thus in effect the Tudor queen's political son. It is perhaps Elizabeth's deep ambivalence toward Mary that has made the relationship between the two queens very imaginable.

This was true even in Elizabeth's own lifetime. In Edmund Spenser's unfinished allegory 'The Faerie Queene' the ambiguous, seductive Duessa is visibly linked to Mary, Queen of Scots. Duessa even comes to trial in a thinly disguised version of the proceedings, which led to Mary's beheading, and her judge, the radiant but torn Mercilla, a stand-in for Elizabeth Tudor.

The fantasy of a physical encounter with Elizabeth has driven many subsequent representations of the Queen of Scots. John Banks's 1686 tragedy 'The Island Queens' (later revised and performed to wide acclaim

throughout the 18th century as 'The Albion Queens') has Elizabeth all but fall in love with her beautiful and pathetic cousin, only, if unwittingly, to betray her in the end. More captivating still is Friedrich Schiller's 1800 'Maria Stuart', which brings the two queens together in a clash of titanic wills. Gaetano Donizetti's opera 'Maria Stuarda' (1835) seems to have been written for its duet between rival sopranos, and the film 'Mary, Queen of Scots' revolves around a charged horseback encounter between the two queens. In Liz Lochhead's 1992 play 'Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off', Mary and Elizabeth shift shapes continually, but are invariably defined in relation to each other.

Even works of literature that do not bring Mary and Elizabeth together are often shaped by the story of their rivalry. In Sophia Lee's 1585/7 Gothic novel 'The Recess', Mary's twin daughters are brought up in secret, concealed beneath the ruins of a monastery because their guardians fear Elizabeth's retaliation. Here, the Tudor queen's jealousy and fear are as important to the pathos of the novel as Mary's suffering in a nearby castle. Similarly, in 'Unknown to History', Charlotte Yonge's popular historical novel of 1882, Elizabeth's anxiety about the imprisoned Mary drives the plot at least as much as Mary's own plight.

Juxtaposing the politically successful but emotionally-hollow Tudor queen with her politically failed but emotionally appealing Stuart cousin centres Mary's story on questions of female power and authority. Unsurprisingly, therefore, it is most often to women readers and writers that Mary has appealed through the centuries. The portrait of the captive Queen of Scots that was to become the prototype of future visual representations of the pathetic Mary was commissioned by one of her waiting women, Elizabeth Curle.

In the 18th century, aristocratic women had themselves painted as Mary and impersonated her at masquerades, and it was a woman – the novelist Eliza Haywood – who published the first truly popular biography of Mary in 1725. Haywood's 'Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots' promised to divulge the 'real causes of all her misfortunes' and did so largely in the pitched language of romance, and with remarkable sympathy for its heroine.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, too, Mary's most articulate and influential biographers have been

women. Agnes Strickland's 'Life of Mary, Queen of Scots' (1844) is detailed and poetic in its apprehensions of the wronged and long-suffering Stewart queen. Antonia Fraser's 'Mary, Queen of Scots' continues this tradition.

Just so, at the end of the 18th century Mary Wollstonecraft's unfinished novel 'Maria, or the Wrongs of Woman' reproduced the often-Gothic scenarios of Mary's captivity to make a polemical point about women enslaved by their own sexual passion. Wordsworth wrote one poignant sonnet in memory of Mary, but his female contemporaries, Mary Roberts and Margaretta Wedderburn, both published very long poetic cycles lamenting her loss of power.

More striking still, both Lee's 'The Recess' and Yonge's 'Unknown to History' revolve around young girls who 'learn' they are Mary's daughter. In both works, the daughter's quest for her lost and tragic mother reverses the story of Demeter and Persephone to an archaic tale of women's shared (and inherited) exile from history.

In their late Victorian closet drama 'The Tragic Mary', Edith Cooper and Katherine Bradley (writing under the pseudonym Michael Field), created a Mary betrayed by men but secretly sustained by devoted women. More than 100 years later, Lochhead's 'Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off' uses Mary's plight to explore ways in which – as in Lee's 'The Recess' and Yonge's revealingly titled 'Unknown to History' – history has sought to eradicate the peculiarly female force of desire that Mary represents.

What then is the myth of Mary, Queen of Scots? Her story is perhaps most visibly a woman's story, but it is also Scotland's story, and it is the story of Catholic suppression in Protestant culture as well.

All of these, however, are stories of loss, and if Mary's myth can be reduced to a single plot, it must indeed be that of loss.

During her long captivity, Mary retained a cloth of state, on which was embroidered her enigmatic motto, 'En ma fin est mon commencement' (In my end is my beginning). The words have proved prescient, forecasting the long and splendid afterlife that Mary's image has enjoyed.

But the motto also has a tragic aspect. For if Mary's living end marked the beginning of her mythical afterlives, it nonetheless appears that the Queen of Scots herself has been lost to us. ●



■ Cradle, said to have been Mary's at Linlithgow Palace – now in the Royal Museum of Scotland.

Sign here: At her Loch Leven prison, the nobles force Mary to abdicate in favour of her infant son, James. Painting by Joseph Severn (1850)

Contrary Mary

She was called many things, from cultivated and charming to manipulative and scheming. This is one woman's personal view of one of history's most fascinating characters



■ After riding to visit the wounded Bothwell at Hermitage Castle in 1566, Mary seeks reconciliation with Darnley. Painting by Alfred Elmore (1877).

What was Mary Queen of Scots really like? It's a question that has teased and tantalised over the years

In trying to find an answer, two things should be remembered. The first is that accounts of history are usually written in the immediate aftermath of victory – by the victors. And, so far as Scotland is concerned, Mary was a loser, both in a political and military sense

The temptation is thus strong to put aside negative contemporary reports of her, certainly from 1567 onwards. That is what later romantic novelists, dramatists and biographers have done

The second thing to remember is that no-one is the same person throughout his or her life. Any woman knows that. As a daughter, a wife, a mother, we are different. Adversity brings out some aspects of our character, success emphasises and develops others. And a confident

public face may very well hide private uncertainties and insecurities

So perhaps a more relevant question about Mary, Queen of Scots, might be: What was she like at any given period of her life?

There are three distinct phases: as Dauphin and Queen in France – 15 years; as a political prisoner in England – 19 years; and, for us and for her, the most significant and shortest period of her life, as Queen regnant of Scotland – seven years

It was a role she neither expected nor wished to undertake. As a child, a girl, and a young woman, she believed her future to be in France

From the age of five she was virtually orphaned. Her remarkable mother, Mary of Guise, sent her to France for safety. But she did not accompany the child. Over the years they met only one more time, yet Mary's devotion to her absent mother was profound

Mary of Guise was a strong and capable woman whose interests were

in politics, though her starting point was misguided. For years she struggled away in Scotland in what she believed to be her daughter's interest, the Roman Catholic Church and the alliance with France

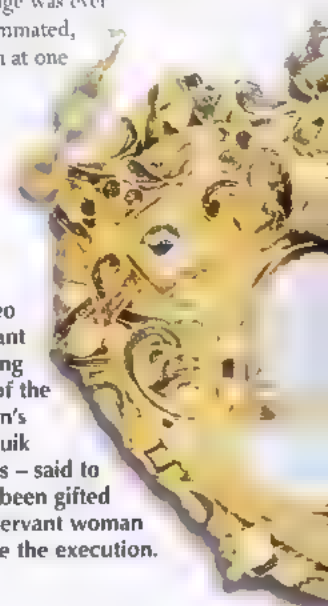
The latter included Mary's preparation for her marriage to her childhood playmate, the future King Francois II – her transformation into a Frenchwoman. Links with Scotland were kept in the shape of a governess, and the four girls who shared her first name. But her education – in literature and music, history and Latin, court etiquette and dancing, rather than in statecraft – was essentially French

A quick learner, a beautiful child, accomplished both in the indoor arts and as a horsewoman, she was petted and indulged by courtiers and by her future father-in-law. Assured that her best interests were being safeguarded both by her mother and her powerful maternal uncles, it would have been difficult for her to

maintain an interest in Scotland, and the evidence is that she did not do so. She came to her marriage as a cultured European princess, and a political innocent

Francois was a sickly youth. There are doubts as to whether the marriage was ever consummated, though at one

■ Cameo pendant forming part of the Queen's Penicuik Jewels – said to have been gifted to a servant woman before the execution.



She was courageous and resourceful but she could also be unstable to the point of physical collapse

point she believed herself pregnant That she loved him dearly is evident from the sad little poem she wrote on his death

*Wherever I may be,
In the woods or in the fields,
Whatever the hour of day,
Be it dawn or eventide,
My heart feels it yet,
The eternal regret*

*As I sink into my sleep,
The absent one is near,
Alone upon my couch,
I feel his beloved touch,
In work or in repose.
We are forever near*

Even after his death the option of returning to Scotland was not a first choice. She tried to arrange a second, political marriage When she did indeed return – inconsolable with grief at leaving France – the first part of her time in her native realm was taken up with trying to pursue this. She was content to take advice from – and to leave day-to-day government in the capable hands of her half-brother, Lord James Stewart

He is a figure much maligned by Mary's supporters. They are unfair to him His illegitimacy deprived Scotland of a wise king, and his successful revolt against Mary of Guise seems to have been genuinely motivated by what he believed to be Scotland's interests rather than ambition. Mary's reappearance must

have been an unwelcome element with which to

contend, but the evidence is

that he gave her full

support and even

affection While

she relied on his

experience and

political skills, her

reign was a success

It was from her

break with him

that the downwards

spiral began.

The cause was her

marriage

to Darnley

If we ask,

'What was

Mary, Queen

of Scots really like?' we should ask what it was that caused her to make this crucial mistake. It does seem to have been, quite simply, physical passion, coupled with a misplaced self confidence. The sympathetic English ambassador, Thomas Randolph, wrote:

"She is so much altered Her Majesty is laid aside, her wits not what they were She has given over to him her whole will"

But the disaster of that marriage brought to the fore the most admirable aspect of her character – courage in adversity. It was to be seen again throughout her long imprisonment, and at her execution. It was never higher than at the time of her escape, seven months pregnant, from Holyrood after the murder of Riccio. Riding pillion, she made the journey to Dunbar and, with the help of Bothwell, rallied support and returned to Edinburgh in triumph to await the birth of James VI

By the end of the year she was in a state of complete nervous and physical collapse M H Armstrong Davis, in his excellent book *The Casket Letters* devotes a chapter to 'The Maladies of Mary and her husbands'. He records a previous collapse, and more minor episodes of hysteria. Perhaps they were simply the frustration of a young woman who, until her first widowhood, had enjoyed a protected and privileged life

But this collapse was serious, and it was no wonder. It was at this time that her alliance with Bothwell was cemented. Indeed, it was less an alliance than a dependence. For all her life, until her imprisonment, she leaned on the nearest man. But was it more than that with Bothwell?

And that is what we cannot know. We can know that she was educated and charming and charismatic. We know that the cocoon of her French upbringing left her quite unprepared for the complexities of Reformation Scotland. We know she was courageous and resourceful when seriously threatened, but that she could also be unstable to the point of physical collapse

We know that in the long years of her imprisonment she became ever



■ Mary with first husband, Francois II, king of France. She loved him dearly.

stronger as a personality and that she was able to discard her earlier reliance on others and emerge into a heroic mould. We know she died steadfast in her faith – and asking for her remains to be laid in France, not Scotland. We know that she knew her father was a tyrant, her mother yet more so. We know she was a mother who hardly knew how and was rejected by him. We know that she married Darnley for love and regretted it bitterly.

But the truth of her relations with Bothwell we do not know. In trying to assess what Mary, Queen of Scots was really like, that is the unanswerable question. Was she a pawn, befuddled with more stress than she was capable of handling, abducted and probably raped – or was she a duplicitous and murdering adulteress?

Trying to understand Mary is perhaps a bit like wondering what the late Princess Diana was really

like, and indeed there are easy comparisons. Physically tall and beautiful in her own times and a beautiful, charismatic and charming woman. All fleeting contacts: a success in their choice of men, subject to depressive illness, and a tragic fall from grace.

Both were extremely young at the time at which they made vital decisions; both caused big damage to a monarchy which they no doubt told themselves they supported.

Will Diana continue to exert such a hold over future generations as Mary has? Will Mohammed Al Fayed's conspiracy theory about the fatal car crash gain as much credence as the possibility of Mary's authorship of the Casket Letters (allegedly written by Mary to Bothwell, and given to Elizabeth I as 'proof' that the pair had connived in the murder of Darnley)?

With Diana as with Mary, the enigma, and the fascination, will always remain. ■

The shape we thought we were in

Ancient maps may look oddly inaccurate these days, but before hi-tech surveys, map-makers did a remarkable job representing Scotland – as much to define edges of royal power as to provide guides for travellers

Maps, in modern terms, are understood to be scaled representations of the real world. But they are seldom accurate. Details are always lost in selecting what is to be shown, and map symbols are usually substituted for the complexity of the real world.

Maps are historical documents. Comparing maps of the same area at different dates can show important changes in the natural and in the cultural landscape. They are social and political documents. They are made by people for people, and for given purposes. Knowing something about maps and about map-makers can help us see that the geography of the past was not the same as that of today. It can also show that ideas to do with the nature of the nation – its shape and its content – have been differently expressed and realised in the map.

These issues are particularly clear for Scotland from the middle of the 16th century and throughout much of the 17th century. It is in this period that, for the first time, maps begin to show what we might think of as the 'modern' shape of Scotland.

It is when the country had its first 'native mapping project' in the

manuscript maps and descriptions produced by Timothy Pont. In addition to Scots involved in mapping themselves, Scotland was the subject of attention for map-makers from England, France, Italy and the Low Countries. In short, from the late Renaissance, Scots and others were giving shape to the nation in map form. Indeed, by the mid 17th century, Scotland was one of the most comprehensively surveyed nations in Europe.

Perhaps the earliest representation of Scotland in map form is part of a British Isles map in the *Geographia* of Claudius Ptolemaeus (150 AD), the Greek geographer known as Ptolemy. In this map, and for reasons that are still unclear, Scotland is correctly placed to the north of England, but instead of a largely northwards orientation, the country is tilted eastwards. Several centuries were to pass before this representation was replaced.

The 'rediscovery' of Ptolemy's *Geographia* and its publication in Renaissance Italy from 1477 revolutionised mapping in Europe. The differences between his claims and the direct experience of the world reported by Renaissance navigators and geographers raised

■ The earliest printed map of Scotland

conceptual and practical questions concerning the shape and extent of the world. It is against this background – one in which maps played a central role in shaping the world's 'geographical imagination' – that new and 'correct' outlines of Scotland appear.

The earliest printed map of Scotland on its own, 'Scotia', dates from about 1566. The outline is recognisably that of Scotland, even if the relative positions of places are not quite as we would now





The first to provide a north-south orientation for the country. 'Scotia' dates from about 1566 and is probably the work of Paolo Forlani, of Verona.

understand them, perhaps particularly so for the west coast

This map is derived from one of Britam, produced in 1546 by George Lily, who was educated at Oxford but spent much of his working life in Rome and in Venice

It is probable that this 1566 map is the work of Paolo Forlani of Verona who was known to have worked in Venice

At about the same time, Alexander Lyndsay, a Scottish coasting pilot, produced a map of

Scotland in association with his Rutter of the Scottish Seas, itself the result of James V's circumnavigation of Scotland in 1540. The King's voyage was undertaken to suppress insurrection among the clans of the western Highlands, and as a 'royal progress' - a statement of royal authority and a way of knowing the geographical extent of his kingdom, and, therefore, the extent of the King's responsibilities.

This map was not published, however, until 1583 when it appeared

in a work by Nicolas de Nicolay, a geographer to the French King

It is likely that Lyndsay's map was produced not as a direct result of King James V's voyage, but rather in advance of it as a guide. Even so, it is indicative of a contemporary political awareness of the map as a tool of state authority

Perhaps the greatest achievements in mapping early modern Scotland are the manuscript maps and written descriptions arising from Timothy Pont's survey of Scotland in the

last years of the 16th century

Relatively little is known about Timothy Pont. We know that he matriculated at St Leonard's College, University of St Andrews, in 1580, and graduated there in 1583.

It is highly likely that he was taught map-making and other branches of geography while a student. We know that he was appointed by his father, Robert Pont, the influential churchman and close friend of John Napier, to the position of parish minister in ►



► Dunnet parish, Caithness, in 1600 or 1601, and that Timothy drew his stipend there until at least 1608.

At some point in the late 16th century and for reasons we can only speculate about, Timothy Pont undertook a geographical description of Scotland in map and written form. What survives of his labours are 78 manuscript maps on 38 sheets, held in the National Library of Scotland, and a textual

description of the Cunningham district of Ayrshire 'Cunninghame Topographized'. The likely date of the compilation of the maps is between 1583 and 1596. The Cunningham text has been dated to between 1604 and 1608.

Strictly speaking, what Pont offers us in his maps is not an accurate geographical survey but rather an essentially impressionistic portrayal of the nature of Scotland at the end

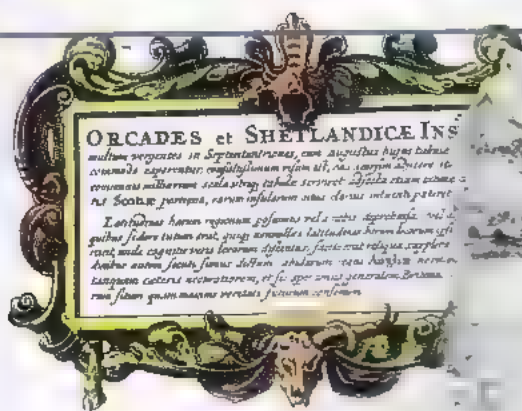
of the 16th century. About 20,000 place names are recorded.

Comments are made about land use. Parts of the north Sutherland coast he tersely describes as 'extrem wildernes'. Many settlements are shown, together with the houses of the principal heritors. Remarks are offered about natural resources and local antiquities.

Many of his maps include sketches

of Scotland's hills and stylised trees to represent woodland. Several of these features are apparent – for example, in his map of Loch Tay with Ben Lawers to the north. Settlements are shown in a variety of symbols and there is a descriptive list of the 'Salmond, Trouts, Eeles (eels) and pearls' to be found in the Loch.

Pont's maps provided the basis to Joan Blaeu's maps of Scotland in his *Atlas Novus*, which was published in



■ Left: Robert Gordon's Scotia Regnum exemplifies how mapping was used as an expression of political authority. It appears in Volume V of Blaeu's 1654 Atlas Novus. Above: Timothy Pont's descriptive map of Loch Tay.

contemporaries on maps as a means to national knowledge

Further royal and civil recognition of the power of maps followed

In 1682, the Geographer Royal for Scotland, Sir Robert Sibbald, was authorised by King Charles II to prepare a geographical description of Scotland and to compile new maps. Sibbald drew together existing geographical descriptions of Scotland, including Pont's and Gordon's maps, and it is to Sibbald that we owe their safe deposit in the Advocates' Library – now the National Library of Scotland.

Sibbald appointed John Adair, 'mathematician and skilful mechanic', to undertake the mapping, given Adair's earlier experience in map making.

The Sibbald-Adair relationship was never easy. The two men fell out over contracts and Adair's slowness and concern for accuracy meant his work was never completed.

Surviving records show repeated appeals to the Parliament of Scotland and to the Privy Council for funding.

Other European map-makers were at work at this time, of course. With the death of Adair in 1718 and of Sibbald in 1722, however, one period of native enterprise in the mapping of Scotland came to an end.

They were followed by a new breed of geographers and map-makers, who would survey and represent in their maps a new and 'improving' Scotland. ●

Amsterdam in 1654. Not all Pont's maps were final drafts. From the early 1630s, Robert Gordon of Straloch in Aberdeenshire collaborated with Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet – who had saved Pont's maps from the neglect of his heirs and who was in correspondence with Blaeu – to complete Blaeu's coverage of Scotland and to compile maps for his own purposes. Gordon's

Scotia Regnum was included in the 1654 Blaeu Atlas.

Pont's and Gordon's maps illustrate something of historical Scotland. Their publication history highlights something of the social and political nature of European map-making – connections between engravers, geographers, churchmen and other learned figures; and a recognition of the value placed by

FIND OUT MORE ABOUT SCOTLAND'S EARLY MAPS

PROJECT PONT: An interdisciplinary research programme, begun in 1996 and led by the National Library of Scotland. Its aims include stimulating and disseminating further research on Timothy Pont's life and work. The project organises seminars and has a newsletter.

For further information, contact: *Project Pont*, Map Library, National Library of Scotland, 33 Salisbury Place, Edinburgh EH9 1SL.

Tel: 0131 226 4531 x3411

Or e-mail: maps@nls.uk

Their website address is: <http://www.nls.ac.uk/digitalibrary/map/pont.html>

CHARTING THE NATION: A digital imaging and cataloguing project with the aim of preserving and widening access to maps of Scotland and their associated archives in the period 1590-1740.

It is funded by the Research Support Libraries Programme and by SCRAM (Scottish Cultural Resources Access Network).

For further information, contact: *Charting the Nation Project*, Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, Drummond Street, Edinburgh EH8 9XP.

Tel: 0131 650 9508

Or e-mail: agg@geo.ed.ac.uk

Their website address is: <http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk/charting/>

The 'feathers of the Spaniard' are washed up on our shores

When Spain sent out its great Armada of 130 ships in 1588, Scotland was, at first, merely an onlooker. The aim of the Spanish king, Philip II, was to invade England. His plan was that the huge fleet, reckoned to be invincible, should sail through the English Channel and rendezvous in The Netherlands with a 17,000-strong army under the Duke of Parma. Then the Spaniards would cross the North Sea and fight their way to London.

The Armada boasted some mighty ships and packed massive firepower. Some of its 2,500 cannon were said to be so powerful that they could sink an enemy vessel with one shot. The officers and men under their commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, numbered 30,000, and there is no doubt that they were keen to avenge the harm which the English, and particularly Sir Francis Drake, had caused to their shipping at home and their overseas colonies.

Drake had boasted of "singeing the King of Spain's beard". This man, this nation, had to be put in its place. So the great fleet was assembled, and sailed from Lisbon in the late spring. The voyage had hardly begun when the ships were scattered by a gale in the Bay of Biscay, a dread omen of things to come. When their sails were finally sighted by English look-outs in mid-July, heading for the bottleneck of the Channel, the English were ready for them.

It looked as if this would be an unequal fight. The English went to battle with only 80 ships, many of them little bigger than modern yachts. Among their 30 capital ships, only four could match the tonnage of Spain's smaller galleons.

The English sailors numbered 16,000 at the most. But their vessels were nimble and could fire off four shots to the Spaniards' one. As the English navy harassed the Armada's tail enders through the Channel, their sailors came up with another enduring sound bite. "The feathers of the Spaniard," they exulted, "have been plucked one by one."

This running fight lasted for about a week, until the Armada dropped anchor off Calais. The Spaniards might have been demoralised, but they had not actually lost many vessels.

However, when the English sent eight fire ships

The defeat of the Armada in 1588 might have given the English a great victory but it also gave Scotland an intriguing legacy

towards the anchored enemy line at midnight, the Spanish captains had to head for open water. At least six of their major ships were either sunk by fire or wrecked on the coast. But the planned rendezvous with the Duke of Parma's army was no longer possible. The invasion of England was off, and the remnants of the Armada sailed for home.

Clearly, it would be inadvisable to head once more through the Channel, where Drake and the other English captains were even then replenishing their ammunition and stores. The only other course was northwards, then westwards across the top of Scotland, passing between Orkney and Shetland, and finally south-eastwards keeping clear of Ireland.

Scotland was neutral in this conflict, and so, the Spanish commander reasoned, the run for home would at least begin in friendly waters. He was right – up to a point. But on the fleet's final leg through the Atlantic west of Ireland, a massive hurricane struck out of a cloudless sky and the rout of the great Armada was complete.

More than 20 ships sank in these Irish waters, and of the 130 vessels which set out in the attempt to invade England, only about 60 are known to have made it home. More than 15,000 Spanish sailors are thought to have perished.

Scotland's links with the famous sea battle are sombre indeed. Several Spanish ships, blown northwards again by the storm, are thought to lie on the sea bed off the Hebrides. One of these was located in 1973 and divers brought up some of her timbers. The fleet included fat bellied merchantmen as well as warships. But the inevitable rumours of sunken treasure have yet to



be borne out. Some reports say that 'wreckers' in the Orkneys, Hebrides, Faroes and Donegal accounted for the lives of several thousand Spanish seamen. An English sea captain reported seeing as many as 1,100 corpses cast up by the sea near Sligo.

Fair Isle, which lay on the Armada's path across the top of the Scottish mainland, had one of the most remarkable brushes with this disaster.

The 38 gun *Gran Grifon*, a squadron flagship commanded by Juan Gomez de Medina, had taken on the crew of another sinking vessel and was overloaded with 300 men.

In this condition, she was driven ashore on the small island. But before she sank, the sailors carrying their valuables, including the gold pieces of light which had been issued to the captains for emergencies – climbed to safety up a mast to an overhanging cliff. So there was Fair Isle, with a tiny population of about 100 people and hardly enough food for survival, suddenly playing unexpected host to 300 Spaniards.

However, the visitors got on well with the natives and paid honourably for the cattle that had to be slaughtered for their meat. The following



■ This chart engraved by Augustine Ryther in 1590 traces the route of the remnants of the Spanish Armada around the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.

The search for Spanish treasure

For 400 years, rumours and myths have kept divers, historians and treasure-hunters wasting fortunes and risking lives on the lost ships of the Spanish Armada wrecked on Scottish coasts.

Yet only two have ever been found and identified – the San Juan de Sicilia, a heavily-armed warship with 300 soldiers aboard, sunk in the silt off Mull and dubbed 'The Tobermory Galleon' with (it is said) £30million in gold; and the Gran Grifon, which grounded off Stroms Hellier, an inlet off the north coast of Fair Isle.

Over the years swarms of treasure hunters – from early barrel and bell divers to later scuba divers and boats equipped with massive dredges and grabs – have desperately sought the gold, silver and jewels believed to be waiting for the lucky ones.

Few artefacts have survived, although in 1899, Lord Archibald Campbell tracked down several Armada cannon, chests and other objects, and published an account of them with unique photographs – including some of the iron cannon at Inveraray Castle, Argyll, salvaged by an ancestor of the present Duke.

It was not until 1970, when a diving team lead by Sydney Wignall with Dr Colin Martin as the archaeologist from the Scottish Institute of Maritime Studies at St Andrews, found the wreck of the Gran Grifon that a true archaeological investigation of a Scottish Armada galleon – without dispersal of finds – was able to be carried out.

The Scottish islands still have some mysteriously dark-haired inhabitants rumoured to have been the result of shipwrecked Spaniards, and the colourful dyes and patterns of the Fair Isle knitwear are believed to have been left behind by the visitors.

Strong anecdotal and obscure written accounts lend strength to the suspicion that at least two long-lost Armada ships still remain to be found off mainland Scotland.

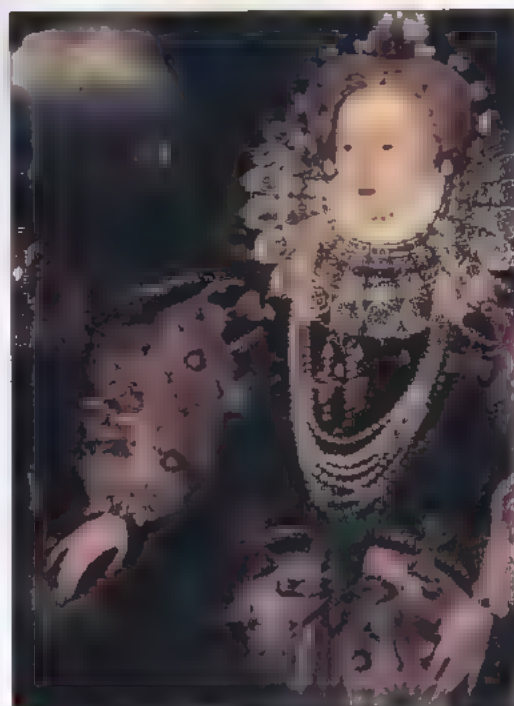
month, the Spaniards were taken to the mainland to find their way home. The most famous Armada wreck is the 26-gun San Juan de Sicilia, which survived the storm in reasonable order but put in at Tobermory on the Island of Mull, wanting to replenish supplies of water.

The commander, Don Tellez Enriquez, probably thought this was a risk free move in a neutral port. But he hadn't reckoned on the friction between Scottish clan and Crown, complicated by inter-clan skirmishing.

Delay followed delay until, without warning, the 800-ton ship blew up and sank in 50 feet of water. Several hundred men were killed and the explosion is now thought to have been the work of an English spy.

Scotland's romance with the Spanish 'treasure galleons' has mostly focused on this wreck, with the Duke of Argyll sending down divers as early as 1640. Many guns have been brought up, but no real treasure.

A couple of cannon have been retrieved from the wreck at Fair Isle, and a few artefacts from another ship near the mouth of the Clyde. But the belief in sunken riches has turned out to be as illusory as Spain's invasion plans. ●



■ Queen Elizabeth: her navy defeated the Armada.

It began with a rock the Picts named Dun Deagh

PART ONE of a special feature on the Tay's major port recalls days of blood, plague and growing trade links with the Continent

■ Dundee, as seen across the Tay rail bridge from the south.





Dundee was a sheltered harbour beneath a defensible rock on the sun-facing shore of a great firth, and with two sweet burns for water. Bonnie it must have been.

Quite when or by whom the rock was first built on is a lost knowledge, but for sure, the Picts were here. They had an unerring eye for fortification, and as their carvings and the best of the brochs demonstrate, a sophisticated sense of aesthetics. The rock they would call Dun Deagh might well have been named after one of their own heroes or the river we have since come to know as the Tay.

The Victorian historian James Thomson was an odd fish. He was arrogant enough to use the royal 'we' in his 1847 'History of Dundee' but commendably honest and given to doubt what many of his predecessors and contemporaries had first swallowed whole then thoughtlessly regurgitated.

He wrote, "Some of the ancient historians, indulging their penchant for the marvellous, inform us that Dundee was a place of strength and importance at the time Agricola brought the Roman eagles into Scotland, and they point it out as the place where Catanach, King of the Picts, entered into an agreement with Galde, King of the Scots, against their common enemy, the Romans. They also inform us that their castle was strongly fortified, and the residence of Donald I. We, no more than the historians who record these things, know anything about them."

The early history of Dundee is difficult, not least because – unlike Stirling or Edinburgh – not only is the castle gone, but so is the very rock it crowned. Thomson acknowledged another difficulty: "Frequent mention of Dundee in ancient chronicles is not to be expected, and accordingly, a mighty void occurs in its history from the year 209, the year in which the doubtful King Donald I died, until 834, when we find it the headquarters of Alpin, King of the Scots, whose army lay encamped in its vicinity, a war having taken place between him and the Picts."

Thomson draws the reasonable conclusion: "Dundee at this period must have been a place of some consequence since it was able to accommodate an army of 20,000 men."

The mind's eye sees a low, wide rock, roughly where today's St Paul's ►



■ Broughty Ferry Castle has figured several times in the story of Dundee. It has been used as a base by both attackers and defenders of the city.

► cathedral stands between Castle Street and Commercial Street, and between there and the harbour on the firth – a compact, walled, downhill town confident in the strength of its castle, nervous at the army in its midst

The Picts under Brude upset the odds of being outnumbered 10 to 1, and Alpin (who, says Thomson, was watching from the Law) responded to the crushing of one of his army's wings by joining the fray himself. He was beheaded for his pains and the Scots fled the field.

By the time Malcolm II paused in Dundee with another army in 1010, en route to flay the Danes at Barry, near Carnoustie, the Picts had been hammered into submission and Scotland had begun to look a little more like itself.

The 12th century brought more clarity. King William I 'The Lion' conferred generous tracts of land and riches on his brother, Earl David, about 1178. Among these was Dundee and its 'shire'. Over the next few years the Earl established Dundee as a burgh, laid out its

Medieval street pattern (the names at least still survive roughly in the same places – Seagate, Murraygate, Cowgate, Wellgate, Nethergate), established a council and made laws.

But the good earl failed to establish his own dynasty, and when his only son John died childless in 1237, Dundee was partitioned by some obscure edict among John's three sisters. By a series of family ties, that in turn let in the Bruces and the Balliols, forebears of kings both. But before either of them would taste the trials of monarchy, there was the small matter of a teenage pupil of Dundee Grammar School, whose father was killed in a skirmish with English soldiers, and whose uncle had spoken to him the immortal words: "I tell you truthfully no gift is like liberty, then never live in slavery."

Suting the word to the deed, young William Wallace took exception to the taunts of the son of the English captain of Dundee Castle and killed him in the street.

The poet Blind Harry would immortalise him a century later, as

would Mel Gibson's 'Braveheart' in its way, several hundred years after that. But it began with a street fight.

It seems Dundee had some sympathies with Edward Balliol in the dispute over the Scottish Crown, and when he was made King in 1292, Dundee became a royal burgh. But Balliol was a disaster waiting to happen.

"In receiving his crown," wrote Thomson, "Balliol found that it was not entirely one of his roses. He found that his dignity was a delusion, and his power a mark for insult upon insult, which at length provoked even his tame and servile spirit to rebel against him with mockery. He found that his dignity was a delusion, and his power a mark for insult upon insult, which at length provoked even his tame and servile spirit to rebel against him with mockery. He found that his dignity was a delusion, and his power a mark for insult upon insult, which at length provoked even his tame and servile spirit to rebel against him with mockery."

Edward Balliol, however, was not a man to be mocked. He marched his army to Dundee, overran the castle, and captured the town.

Among these were hundreds of years of accumulated Dundee archives, a loss which has vexed

historians ever since. But Wallace's star was rising, and when it reached its zenith at Stirling Bridge in 1297, one of his most pressing preoccupations was to complete his mission against the English garrison at Dundee. Thomson summarises:

"From Stirling he immediately retraced his steps to the castle of Dundee, and with weapons reeking of victory he met an enemy who had been defeated only a few days before. The garrison, upon the reappearance of their leaders, rendered still more confident by their recent victory, refused to expose themselves to further fury, if exasperated by a stubborn resistance, surrendered the castle upon condition of having their lives spared. This inglorious convention prevented an assault, and the dastardly garrison departed for England."

The Wars of Independence had begun, but one way or another the new royal burgh of Dundee was destined to battle for its own stubborn independence forever. The

As if the plague had not been enough, Dundee prompted the attention of the armies that were doing a London king's bidding

14th and 15th centuries brought new prosperity to Dundee, not least because the English captured Berwick in 1333. Berwick, then the largest and richest Scottish town, declined from then on, and Dundee was best placed to pick up the pieces, particularly in European trade. That unwitting favour was the first and last any English army ever accorded the place.

With economic importance came political importance. Dundee grew to become Scotland's third burgh after Edinburgh and Aberdeen, the venue for parliaments and great council meetings of the day.

In 1990 the historian Geoffrey Barrow wrote "It is easy to see how Dundee and its burghesses came to play such a crucially important role in the Protestant Reformation of the Scottish Church. Its merchants were in direct contact with the trading communities of Germany and the Low Countries, where Lutheran ideas spread and multiplied so rapidly. Its inhabitants were relatively prosperous, well schooled, well informed and outward-looking. They enjoyed a buoyant self-confidence which in many ways, and despite many ups and downs, has been characteristic of Dundee and Dundonians throughout their history."

That self-confidence and resilience would be sorely tried again and again. And wedded to that stubborn, even rebellious instinct, it proved a fertile ground for one of the stalwarts of the Reformation, the preacher George Wishart.

James Thomson, author of the cheerfully idiosyncratic *History of Dundee* of 1847, enthused about his impact: "In Dundee, the winning grace, the majestic and persuasive power of the preaching of George Wishart, first infused into the minds of the inhabitants that zeal for religion by which they and their descendants were for a long series of years so peculiarly distinguished. His piety was unaffected, his

morals exemplary, his learning profound. His uncommon accomplishments combined with his energetic zeal would have stamped him a great man in the most enlightened age; but to an ignorant people, just emerging from the mists of error and darkness, he appeared a prophet."

Four days after he first preached in Dundee in 1544, a particularly vile outbreak of that curse of the Middle Ages, the plague, occurred.

"The whole town was involved in one general calamity," wrote Thomson, "and the mortality became incredible...mothers grasping the livid forms of their dead children; and infants drinking in death from the breasts of their lifeless mothers."

Wishart was in Ayrshire when he found out, having been practically forced out of the town at the behest of Cardinal Beaton, then head of the established Catholic Church in Scotland. When it was learned that Wishart had returned to bring solace to the suffering masses who had responded so eagerly to his preaching, the Cardinal's response was to have him killed. But Wishart saw the hired assassin's dagger before he could use it and foiled the attempt himself. Then, in a quite remarkable gesture which did nothing to lessen his standing in Dundee's eyes, he protected the wretch from his congregation's anger, insisting no harm had been done. Nevertheless, the man was forcefully escorted out of town and Wishart was a hero.

The Wishart Arch still stands near the spot where the preacher preached, and though it remains his monument and one of the city's oldest structures after the giant Medieval survival of the Old Steeple, he predated it by many years.

Life after the Union of the Crowns of 1603 brought new religious tensions in Scotland, and it would have been uncharacteristic if Dundee had not been in the forefront of it all. And as if the sundry visitations of the plague did not wreak wretchedness enough in the city, Dundee's enthusiasm for the Protestant cause and the Sacred Covenant prompted the attentions of more armies doing a London king's bidding.

Thomson contemplated the wrath of Montrose while summarising what had gone before:

"The town had been twice taken by the English in the course of the succession wars after the death of



■ Stone wall carving that reflects the city's long association with the sea.

Alexander III, a third time by Edward III, a fourth by Richard II, a fifth time by the English garrison at Broughty Ferry. And now in 1645, it was fated to experience the horrors of an assault and pillage from the fierce hordes that composed the army of Montrose."

The killing, burning and pillage that was inflicted on Dundee was as much to do with Montrose's own legend as his loyalty to the royal cause of converting Scotland to episcopacy. But if Dundee thought that day's suffering at the hands of Montrose was bad – and it was bad enough – in 1651 it fell under the hideous spectre of General Monck.

Civil War was everywhere in the land and Cromwell was doing his worst. Monck was the perfect disciple for such devil's work. The city's religious bias was excuse enough, but by now Dundee was Scotland's second city, and here were serious spoils, £50 worth for every soldier in Monck's army, according to one estimate.

"It is not possible, even now, to find an objective assessment of Monck's ruination of Dundee, and the atrocities inflicted on men, women and children. The accounts are as lurid as they are contradictory. One suggests

the siege lasted five or six weeks, which, considering what Montrose achieved in a day, hardly bears thinking about. What is certain is that in all Dundee's story, this was its nadir, and the recovery process was agonising and decades long.

In the early years of the 19th century, restoration work on the Old Steeple was suddenly halted by the discovery of shallow mass graves where bodies had been dumped rather than laid. The place was never a burial ground. Here was where some Dundee folk had tried to defend themselves against Monck from the great square tower.

But Monck set fire to it, to force them out, and when they emerged and pleaded for mercy, what they got instead was discovered 160 years later.

Dundee did recover – again. The old self-confidence resurfaced in time, and even if it was never again the second city of Scotland, it never stopped looking outwards, especially eastwards to its seagoing horizon. And it never stopped thinking well of itself. ■



■ General Monck ravaged Dundee.

GREATS GROWN FROM SCOTS ROOTS

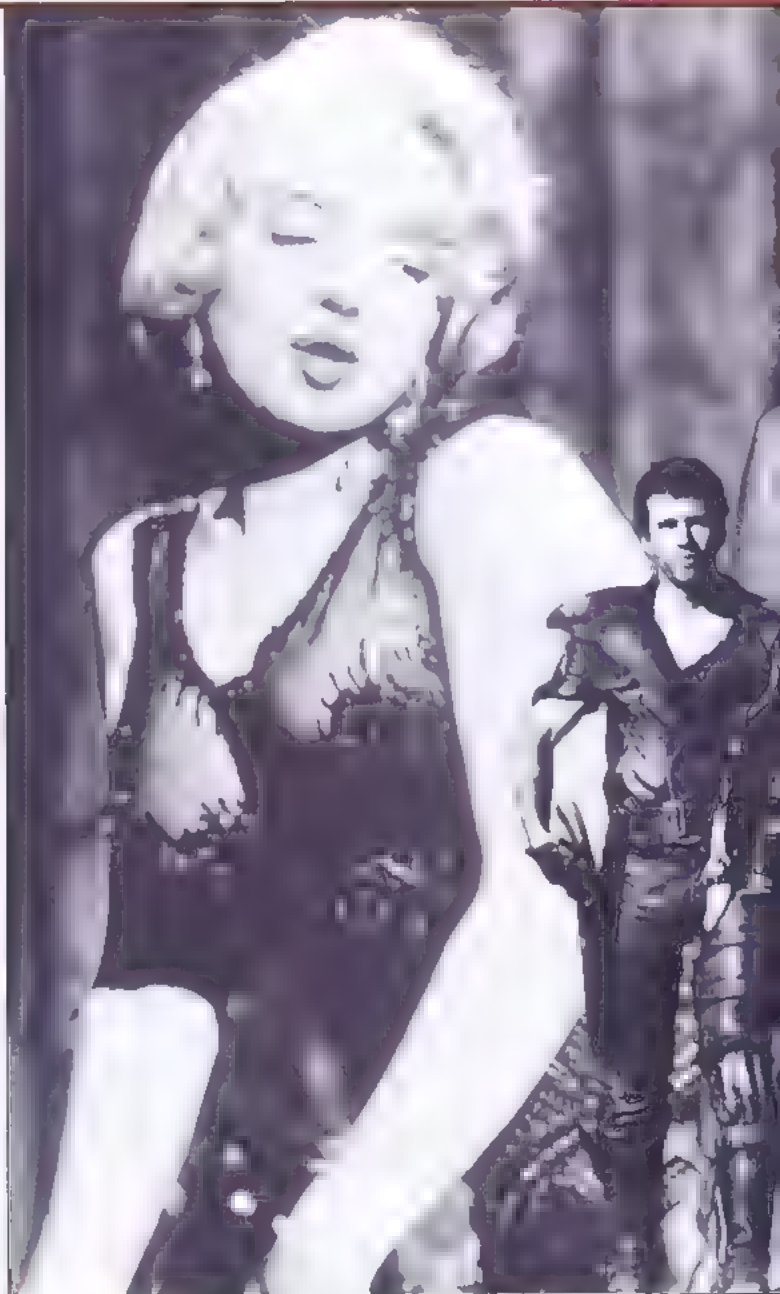
People have been the most vital of Scotland's exports over the centuries. Their talents have won fame and fortune all over the world

For a small country of five million people, Scotland's influence throughout the world has been immense. In every generation, Scots have travelled widely to seek their fortunes or to find power and fame. They have been explorers, warriors, diplomats and adventurers, and as a result their blood-lines run like a thread through a multitude of nations.

Just for a start, think of the Cold War superpowers – the United States and Russia – whose warships once stalked each other around the world's oceans. Each of these great navies was founded in past centuries by a Scot – America's by John Paul Jones, born in Kirkcubbin, Dumfriesshire, and Russia's by Admiral Samuel 'Carlovitch' Greig, born in Inverkerthing, Fife.

Amazingly, the three leaders of the Western Alliance in World War Two – Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Franklin D Roosevelt, and General Charles de Gaulle – could all boast Scottish roots. Earlier, in the American Civil War, the commanders of both the Union and Confederate armies, Ulysses S Grant and Robert E Lee, had Scots blood.

And even earlier, when America fought its War of Independence against Britain, there's a nice irony in the dispute over who fired the first shot. It was either Ebenezer Munro of the Lexington Minutemen or Major John Pitcairn of the British



■ Famous faces – and figures – with Scots backgrounds: Marilyn Monroe, M

forces – both Scots. In fact, Scottish blood flows lavishly through American history. In 1996, it was calculated that while fewer than five per cent of American people were of Scots descent, more than 75 per cent of US presidents had Scots ancestors.

This chain stretched from Bill Clinton back to George Washington, who was remotely descended from King Malcolm II of Scotland. Unfortunately it also includes the disgraced Richard Nixon, who was impeached after the Watergate scandal.

As the American West was built up, adventurers with Scots blood were in the vanguard. Daniel Boone and frontiersman James Bowie, of Bowie knife fame, were both of Scottish descent. So was Wyatt Earp, the legendary gunslinger of Dodge City and Tomb Raider.

In fact, Scots blood runs through every corner of the American West. A Scottish-born settler is a store, two is a

church, and three is a bank."

A man born in Scotland as Hugh Reid colourfully renamed himself Don Perfecto Hugo. He found success in 19th-century California, becoming the owner of the massive Rancho Santa Anita. He married the daughter of an Indian chief and became a local politician before losing his fortune.

Scotts were, though, in that country for the mayors of many towns. They were Scots as well as Americans, continuing as far as the West. William Armstrong, the first Scottish-born mayor of San Francisco, had roots in the Scottish Borders.

Scotts have always been numerous in the film industry, but it's an interesting coincidence that Mel Gibson, who played William Wallace in 'Braveheart', really does have Scottish blood. So, for that matter, did screen beauty Marilyn Monroe.

Andrew Carnegie, who was born



Gibson, Richard Nixon, Sir Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and in the background the first moon-walker, Neil Armstrong.

in Dunfermline, is probably the most famous Scots-American industrialist and philanthropist. But in the roll of US captains of industry and invention you will also find Elizabeth Arden, the cosmetics queen born of Scots-Canadian parents, and Mary Phelps Jacob, of Scots-Irish descent, who invented the bra.

Scots have been influential, too, in the southern part of the American continent. The sheep farmers whose flocks brought wealth to Argentina, and the cattle barons who laid the foundations of its huge beef industry, were largely Scots.

But Scots were also noted for quirkier achievements. In Venezuela, Sir Gregor MacGregor was a general in the revolutionary army before setting himself up as ruler of his own kingdom in Nicaragua. Calling himself His Serene Highness Gregor the First, Prince of Poyals, he issued banknotes and sought diplomatic

recognition in London. But he eventually gave up and retired to Venezuela, presumably exhausted by the stress of high office.

James Cook, who circumnavigated Antarctica and New Zealand in the 18th century, was born in Yorkshire of Scots parentage. Other exploring Scots who often suffered great hardship in their quests were Mungo Park, who travelled through uncharted Nigeria before he was killed there by tribesmen in 1805, and the man reckoned to be the greatest explorer of all, David Livingstone.

The Antarctic explorer Captain Robert Scott, whose ship 'Discovery' has been preserved in Dundee, also had Scots forebears.

The Scots have long had a reputation as 'bonny fighters', and weren't slow to hire themselves out. There are records of Scottish soldiers fighting in Germany in the 14th century with the Order of

Teutonic Knights. But mercenaries from this country also helped to throw the Spanish out of 16th-century Holland, fighting as well in Denmark and Poland.

Scotland has also produced many military leaders for other nations. There's a tale about opposing generals commanding the Russian and Turkish armies in a 19th-century conflict. When they got together to talk about peace, they found they were both from Kilmarnock. The truce didn't take long to arrange.

And it was in Russia that Scottish influence reached remarkable heights. General Tam Dalrymple of Linlithgow (ancestor of the Labour MP) was a high-ranking officer in the 17th-century army of Tsar Mikhailovitch before returning to Scotland to become the scourge of the Covenanters. He brought back with him a useful Russian invention

the thumb screw. Also in that century, General Patrick Gordon

from Aberdeenshire ("Patrick Ivanovitch") became so important to Peter the Great that he was often left in charge of the Kremlin.

Then there was General James Keith, from Peterhead, who could actually have become Tsar of Russia - but made a sharp exit. He was commander-in-chief of the Russian army in the war against Sweden around 1740. The Empress Elizabeth was so taken with him that she called him "the only man to my mind who could bring up a future heir to the throne".

Keith could hear alarm bells. He knew that Catherine the Great was being lined up to succeed Elizabeth, so this marriage would put him in a no-win situation. He fled to Prussia, where he promptly became field marshal and was made Governor of Berlin.

Resourceful, decisive and canny. That describes the Scots who shaped the world. ●

Tragic fate of the 'Unknown Bairn'



■ Sad moment: local postman Ian Robertson, who found and retrieved the toddler's body from the Tay estuary, pays his respects at the graveside

Where did he come from, the little drowned boy found on the shore of the Tay? Incredibly, no one came forward to claim him, and to this day nothing is known of his family background

For Ian Robertson, a postman in the little Fife town of Tayport, a walk along the shingle beach on a Sunday afternoon in May, 1971, turned out to be a wash out, when cold rain swept in from the sea. He and his five-year-old son turned for home – then something floating in the shallow water stopped them in their tracks.

Suddenly, Ian told his son to go home at once then he stepped into the river Tay to examine what he thought, and hoped, was a plastic doll.

When he turned the bundle over, it was the start of a distressing and perplexing mystery.

"It was a quite horrible sight – to see that it was a human body," he said later. "A little boy about three years old. The body was in a shape, where it had been in contact with the river-bed."

Trembling with shock, Ian brought the body on to the beach and ran off for help. He was packing up model boats at the time. He asked him to confirm what he had seen.

"It seemed like a bad dream," he said. But the

other man saw the same ghastly sight and reacted with similar shocked disbelief.

At once, they called in the police and soon the little body, wearing a patterned jersey over a blue shirt, was in the hands of a pathologist in Cupar – who concluded that the boy had drowned.

The boy's remains to the grieving parents would now appear to round off the tragic matter with some dignity – to give the boy at least a loving burial – that hope turned out to be in vain.

For, incredible as it may seem, to this day no one has come forward to claim him, not even a family. The lack of publicity, as well as the coverage of the story in the press, or for lack of police interest, kept the boy from the banks of the river. His involvement in the coastal country was a mystery to Europe.

The toddler must have come from somewhere. He must have been missed by someone. The

alternative seems almost unthinkable – that he was unwanted, forcibly drowned, and allowed to slip away with the tide.

But why? How many parents, however evil or distressed, could commit such a deed against a little one with whom they had lived for a few years?

Obviously few, if any. So had he died with his parents, either accidentally – a fall from a ship perhaps – or in a suicide pact?

That might explain, to some degree, the lack of response. But where then did the adult bodies go? None was ever found that could be connected to the boy.

And so, almost three decades later, the mystery of the Unknown Bairn remains unsolved and continues to haunt the people of Tayport who were involved in the bewildering affair.

Indeed, every year, on the anniversary of the sad discovery, people still gather at the west-side cemetery in a belated effort to make up for the love that somehow, somewhere this little boy lost.

But the grim fact that not all people are so compassionate is also acknowledged here. For among those who come to lay down their floral tributes and say their silent prayers will often be a plainclothes policeman.

On the assumption that a killer could be remorseful enough to visit his victim's grave, each face is checked that gazes down on the simple three-foot stone.

Somehow, despite such visits, the little boy seems still alone, even at rest. There is a certain sad irony in the positioning of the grave – by itself, some distance away from the rows of community graves on the bank of the river directly facing the cityscape of Dundee – the very river that may have claimed his life.

The stone – provided by a local fund-raising campaign – was not yet in place when the boy was put to rest five days after he was found. In contrast to that miserable afternoon, however, it was a fine sunny day that blossomed for the simple, if well-attended, burial ceremony.

Local undertaker John Beat has recalled how, in the absence of relatives, he carefully handed over the small white coffin he had made to the gravedigger, "who then descended some specially-dug steps to place it gently in the grave".

The minister's accompanying words touched the hearts of the sizeable crowd that had gathered and there was many a silent tear – even from the hardened men of the police and the press – and certainly from those who had seen to it that at least the lad received a respectful farewell.

The story of the Unknown Bairn had clearly saddened, moved and mystified not just Tayport but the whole country. But the police and the press were repeatedly frustrated at the time, and their efforts then were so tireless and thorough that it now seems hopelessly optimistic to expect some lucky breakthrough in the future.

There was perhaps justification for optimism in the early days of the investigation but, as the diary of police progress shows, this slowly but surely soured into chronic frustration.

May 23: Body is found and police alerted. The only clue they find is the maker's label on one of his items of clothing: 'Achilles, size 3'. They say



■ Bewildered but moved by the tragic story, local people lay flowers for the Unknown Bairn.

the child – found on the foreshore at high-water mark beside the sawmill at Tayport – is aged "about two to three" and is almost three feet tall.

May 24: Post-mortem reveals that the boy's death was due to drowning and that he had been in the water for two to six weeks.

May 26: Enquiries extended to Continental countries. British and foreign ships checked – so far in vain. Some speculation that the body might have been washed across from the Continent. But the label clue has revealed that the shirt was made by a Leeds firm, John Barren & Co, which distributed all over the UK. The line was discontinued some five years before. It suggests boy came from a less-than-wealthy family which clothed its children with hand-me-downs or second-hand items. Also suggests that he was British.

May 31: Another promising tip-off. A couple of travelling people have been overheard talking on a bus, from Leven to Dunfermline, about a lost boy. "I lost my wee boy that day and he was only two," the woman is reported to have told a male companion with long, dark hair. The woman is described as aged 40-50, short, with ruddy complexion.

June 2: The travelling-folk lead crumbles. Police have tracked down the couple to find that the woman was talking about the day her son was taken into care. But they say "intensive inquiries" are still going on among travelling communities.

June 5: Chief Superintendent White, head of Fife CID, expresses "amazement" at lack of response from the boy's family.

Though they kept the case file open, there was nowhere left for the police to turn. Yet one (now retired) policeman who was involved in the case instinctively favours the idea that the boy's family were travelling people.

"I always felt he was a child of the travelling folk and had come down river from, say, Perthshire.

They are, let's face it, a little lax about the bureaucracy that the rest of us have grudgingly

learned to live with. They don't follow the press as avidly as most people, they don't follow the rules, and it's not unknown for them to leave a death unregistered.

"But they are good people with their children, very fond and loving with them, and would be very sad about not being able to give a youngster like this a proper funeral."

Perhaps he's right. But it now seems we are never likely to know who gave such a brief life to the Unknown Bairn. ●

CASE OF THE MISSING TODDLER

THE FIRST CLUE

Clothes may solve riddle

IF YOU CAN HELP, CONTACT THE POLICE

■ The toddler's labelled clothes looked helpful, but they yielded no results.



■ Mary is consoled by her ladies in waiting after the disastrous Battle of Langside.

THE INITIAL EVIDENCE OF MARY'S PRESENCE



The Queen of Scots left one of her many marks in Glasgow, and few folk know about it, says biker historian David Ross

Scotland abounds with places that have a Mary, Queen of Scots, connection. If you get the chance, go and visit a few of them and cast your mind back to the times when Scotland's one and only queen regnant (rather than queen consort) was in power.

After the Battle of Pinkie in 1547, Mary, a child of only five, was taken to an island on the Lake of Menteith to protect her from England's 'Rough Wooing'. Inchmahome has a ruined priory, and Mary's little garden, 'Queen Mary's Bower', has survived. A boat takes you across the water from Port of Menteith, near Aberfoyle, and the surrounding scenery makes this a special day out.

Jedburgh in the Borders still has an old tower house known as Queen Mary's House, which is open today as a museum. It was here that she lay ill after her 60-mile ride over the Border hills to visit Bothwell at Hermitage Castle.

During this journey she fell from her horse, losing her watch in a bog in the process. Centuries later, it was found and then kept on display in Jedburgh —

but later unfortunately was stolen. Queen Mary's House stands in a park between Queen Street and the Jed Water.

Glasgow's south side has its large memorial to the Battle of Langside (1568) in the area of the city known as Battlefield, just behind the Victoria Infirmary. But there is another memorial to Mary only a mile or so away which is unknown to most Glaswegians, never mind the rest of Scotland.

On the highest point of a small park in Old Castle Road in Cathcart, stands a stone carved with Mary's initials, marking the spot where she watched the Battle of Langside.

On the opposite side of the road stands the scant ruin of Cathcart Castle, visited by Mary. This edifice was demolished by Glasgow City Council in 1980 on the pretext that it was dangerous.

In the city's Queen's Park, named after Mary, there stands a boating pond over by Pollokshaws Road. This was originally a bog. It made sense, when the park was being laid out, to turn this into a pond. When the workmen began

to dig they uncovered armour and skeletal remains, obviously from the dead of the Battle of Langside. When the fight was over, orders would have been given for the dead to be buried, and the burial party would have made life easier for themselves by using the nearby bog. It made more sense than trying to dig through hard soil.

Mary's great adversary, John Knox, has a statue atop a large pillar as a memorial to his memory in Glasgow's Necropolis. As you climb to the top floor of the nearby Museum of Religion, this statue can be seen to spectacular effect through the large glass panel at the top of the stairs — a clever touch on the part of the architects of this traditionally designed building.

The tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots can be visited within Westminster Abbey in London. The vault containing her body was opened in 1867. Her coffin was surrounded by many others, mostly later royal children who had died in infancy, including the 18 stillborn babies of Queen Anne.

The tomb is surmounted by a white marble likeness of Mary. ●

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Bothwell: SNPG; Murder of Riccio by Sir William Allan: NGS; Mary's Death

Mask: The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon. p10/11/12 Mary Being

Summoned to Execution, Philippe Jacques van Bree; Execution of Mary: NGS; Mary's Crib: NMS. p13/14/15

Mary's Abortive Reconciliation With Her Husband, Alfred Elmore: Astley House, Gloucestershire; Mary at Loch Leven Castle, Joseph Severn: V&A; Pendant: NMS. p16/17/18/19 Maps: National Library of Scotland. p20/21 Queen Elizabeth: Private Collection/ Bridgeman. p22/23/24/25 Dundee: Jim Crumley. p28/29 Unnamed Bairn: Dundee Courier. p30 Dawn After the Battle of Langside by Giovanni Fattori: Scala/Gallery of Modern Art, Florence.

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SCOTLAND'S STORY

NEXT WEEK IN PART 2



UNION OF THE CROWNS

For centuries, English kings had tried to impose their rule on Scotland. So it was one of history's greatest ironies when a Scottish king was handed the English crown. James VI of Scotland, later James I of England, was seen by some as an effective ruler and a poet. But to others he was a tyrant and a fool. So what was the first king of Great Britain really like?

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